

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

**Guru Nanak Dev Mission
Series 390**

**Betrayal of Trust!
The Sikh Tragedy
In Free India**

Guru Nanak Dev Mission
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FOREWORD

LET THE WHOLE TRUTH BE KNOWN'

The Congress of G.K. Gokhale Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Chitranjan Das is dead. The last vestige of that period ended with the expiry of term of Presidency of a Sadhu in the person of Dr. Rajendra Prasad who had to seek extension of his term of office just to keep in check Mr. Nehru's wrong doings. The veteran Indians like Veer Savarkar or religious leaders like Swami Vivekananda are the things of hoary past. The veteran Sardar Patel performed the last miracle by smooth integration of 500 odd princely states into the Indian territories. The successor congress inherited 15 states from the British, but disintegrated them into 22 states and 9 Union territories but still blame others for disintegration of the country. Mrs. Gandhi, the champion of Indian Unity, was herself primarily responsible for two splits in the so well organised Congress party producing a plethora of counterfeit parties known as Congress (S), Congress (J), Congress, (I) and the latest Congress (G).

It is common knowledge that there is total absence of any moral code in activities of all political parties including the ruling Congress. Political developments in Assam, Punjab, Sikkim, Jammu & Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh are some of the examples of political muddles. The aftermath

of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination leading to the riot, arson and killings of the Sikhs in Congress (I) ruled states and Delhi are a matter of disgrace for the Indian Govt.

Even in the non-political field, the government of the time is not worth its salt if it has to be dragged to the court every time it is required to fulfil its obligations towards its citizens, in the administrative field. There is a long catalogue of grievances of individual citizens and groups arising out of government excesses, some of which had to be taken to the court. The most recent instances are writs in the Supreme Court by pre-1979 Central Government Pensioners, Pre-1979 and Pre-1973 Defence pensioners in matters of uniformity of pension scales, restorations of commuted pension and Family Pension for pre-1964 retirees.

It took four years to get pension sanctioned for Local Commissioned Officers of the Military Nursing Service. Abolition of Bonded Labour is official policy of the Government practising it itself.

The writer, as a school boy, was inspired by the martyrdom of Lala Lajpat Rai, to take the fight for India's freedom into the armed forces. His attempt to run away from home in 1928 proved abortive. The second attempt in 1935 succeeded and he never looked back. With the performance of the post-partition Congress government in office, he is perhaps the most disillusioned person in India to be a witness to the doom of the nation at the hands of the present day self-seeking politicians irrespective of their party affiliations.

He is hated by the Sikhs because he is son of a Hindu father. He is hated by the Hindus because he is a Sikh in appearance and way of life. He is hated by the Congress

because he has been a staunch critic of the post-partition Congress. He has been a victim himself of many official excesses including a number of attempts on life completion of a MISA enquiry. In the latest analysis he finds himself even-de franchised because his name is missing from the voters' list though he has been a resident of Dehra Dun from 1950. It is understood that names of 20,000 eligible voters are missing from the electoral rolls. Will Election Commission conduct an enquiry ?

To bring focus on the deteriorating Punjab Sikh problem a number of pamphlets were brought entitled "The Great Betrayal" (November 1982), 'Some Home Truths about the Role of Sikhs in India's freedom Struggle' (July 1983) and 'Let the Truth be known' (November 1983). Thousands of copies have been distributed and appreciated in India and abroad. Since then more and more facts have come to light including confessional remarks of Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, Sardar Patel and Mr. Iyengar, as revealed in Mrs. Gandhi's book entitled 'My Truth'. So much so that the need has been felt to bring out another pamphlet entitled 'Let the WHOLE TRUTH be known'. A dispassionate study of the contents of this pamphlet shall leave no shadow of doubt in the minds of readers and for the writer to declare openly that the Sikh Community, with its record of glorious sufferings and sacrifices out of proportion to their numerical strength, have a better claim to be called 'INDIAN NATIONALS' than the present day usurpers of the political power. The SCARE of 'KHALISTAN' and 'ANANDPUR RESOLUTION' is raised again and again to confuse the real issues. With the controlled media, the

Indian Government have succeeded in putting dust in the eyes of National and International Communities. The Government has no right to resist the demand for a high power judicial enquiry with independent national and international observers in attendance to go into all aspects of Punjabi Sikh problem.

LET THE WHOLE TRUTH BE KNOWN

Sikh population is quite insignificant in the world. It is a mere 1.8 percent of India's population. But, inspite of being in such small numbers The Sikhs, with their conspicuous appearance with unshorn hair and turban, on top of their courage, gallantry, fearlessness and industry, have earned a place for themselves in the World. In the eighteenth century they became famous for speaking the truth and possessing unbreakable faith.

For such outstanding characteristics even with small numerical strength, they could stand against the marauders like Nadar Shah and Abdali though many a precious life had to be sacrificed. During the tyrannical rule of eighteenth century Mughals, orders were issued for extermination of the members of the Sikh Community wherever seen. In spite of being just a handful by the last decade of the century, the Sikhs became the rulers of the territory from Delhi to Kabul wherein the Khalsa Raj was established in 1799. Through internal strife and betrayals by Dogra Raja Dhian Singh and General Lal Singh, its disintegration was hastened the next fifty years. The British, of course, had a hand in it, nevertheless, they were highly appreciative of the Sikh characteristics which earned for them 30 percent representation in army recruitment during the British time. There are, however instances like Baba Ram Singh and his Namdhari followers, who had adopted an attitude of non-cooperation with the British. They were instrumental in the destruction of Slaughterhouses established by the

British and they also encouraged a revolt in a regimental centre leading to a theft in an armoury. As a result of this 95 Namdharis were courtmartialled, Baba Ram Singh himself was exiled to Burma and 64 others of his followers were blown from the guns.

A large number of Sikh troops participated in 1914 & 1939 World Wars and displayed gallantry during battles in Africa, Middle East and became renowned for their valour, all over the world. During the last decades of the nineteenth century the struggle for India's freedom had begun. These were the times when religious preaching in the Punjab by Christian Missionaries, Mirzais of Qadian and Aya Samajists led by Swami Daya Nand Saraswati, was at its highest. The Sikh youth in large numbers were coming under these influences. As a safeguard against conversions, in 1873, Singh Sabha Movement was founded, followed by Educational Committee's efforts in opening a chain of Khalsa schools in numerous places.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of Sikh youth embarked on foreign journeys towards Shanghai and Singapore in search of service and eventually entered Canada in large numbers, working in farms and other vocations. Of particular mention is Kamagata Maru episode in 1914 as a part of Indian Freedom Movement in a foreign land. Those returning to India were arrested on suspicion of conspiracy. Many of them had to face bullets at Budge-Budge (near Calcutta) which killed 22 of them and most of them were hanged or transported for life and their properties were confiscated. On conclusion of

World War of 1914-18, Rowlatt Act was imposed in India ushering in Martial Law in the Punjab culminating in Jallianwala Bagh tragedy in 1919, which was again a milestone in the struggle for India's independence. Sikhs, though small in numbers, contributed greater share in suffering and sacrifices than that of Hindus, Muslims Christians and Budhists inhabiting India, in all put together. 93 out of 121 hanged, 2147 out of 2646 transported for life 22 killed at Budge Ghat out of Kamagata Maru passengers and 799 out of 1300 killed in Jallianwala Bagh were Sikhs. This highlights the contribution of the Sikhs in the cause of India's fight for freedom. 3061 Sikhs against 1005 others.

During the movement for gaining control of Gurudwaras from 1920 to 1925, hundreds of Sikhs attained martyrdom 1700 were mercilessly beaten during Guru-ka-Bagh Morcha. 5605 old, young and children were confined to prison with rigorous labour and torture which disabled many for Life. Sikh's contribution was unmatched in non-violent movement of the Congress and the entire Hindu and Muslim press of that time was full of praise for the outstanding sacrifices of the Sikh Community.

During the second World War out of 42,000 strong Indian National Army of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose 2,000 were Sikhs. The safe escape of Netaji Bose from India was also master-minded and executed by the Sikhs. On the establishment of National Corps, the British got disheartened and were eventually compelled to quit India. the

Congress were so impressed with the contribution of the Sikhs that repeated assurances were solemnly given that the Sikh interests will be provided special safeguards in free India inspite of their small numbers. Such assurances were given by leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and others not only in their personal capacity but also on behalf of Indian National Congress in its 1929 Session at Lahore vide a resolution passed as under :

Congress assures the Sikhs that no solution of any future constitution will be acceptable to Congress that does not give them (Sikhs) full satisfaction'. (Ref. Indian Constitution Documents Vol II by A. C. Banerjee) Mahatma Gandhi had addressed the Sikh congregation in Gurudwara Sis Ganj, some time later in 1931 thus ;

'I ask you to accept my word and the resolution of the Congress that it will not betray a single Individual much less a community. If it ever thinks of doing so, it would only hasten to its own doom..... I pray you to unbother yourself of all doubts and apprehensions, Let God be the witness to the bond that binds me and Congress to you. I venture to suggest that the non-violence creed of the Congress is the surest guarantee of good faith, and our Sikh friends have no reason to fear that it would betray them For, the moment it does so, the Congress would not only thereby seal its own doom but that of the country too. More over the Sikhs are a brave people. They know how to safeguard their rights by the exercise of arms, if it should ever come to that.' (Ref. Young India, dated 19 March 1931.)

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru spoke in the same vein, in a press conference at Calcutta in 1956 as reported in the Statesman of Calcutta dated 7 July 1946) :

'The brave Sikhs of the Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and set-up in the North, wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom '.

On yet another occasion Pandit Nehru had said :

"Redistribution of provincial boundaries was essential and inevitable. I stand for semiautonomous units as well. If the Sikhs desire to function as such a unit, I should like them to have semi-autonomous unit within the province so that they may have a see of freedom". (Ref. A National Book Club Publication page-147.)

Pandit Nehru introduced the undermentioned resolution in the Constituent Assembly on 9 December 1946:—

"A dequate safeguarde would be provided for minorities in India. It was a declaration, a pledge and an undertaking before the world a contract with millions of Indians. and therefore, in the nature of an oath, which we must keep". (Ref. Framing of Indian Constitution by B Shiva Rao-P-181).

The Constituent Assembly was urged by Pandit Nehru to declare that "The various territories of the UNION OF India would be autonomous units with residuary powers"

In a Congress party resolution passed on 5 January 1947, it was stated that :

"The rights of the Sikhs in Punjab should not be jeopardised".

Hindu and Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly passed the undermentioned resolution at Delhi in July 1947 :

"In the divided Indian Punjab special constitutional measures are imperative to meet the just aspirations and rights of the Sikhs".

1947 was the year of Independence as well as Partition of the country. On the acceptance of the two-nation theory by the Hindu Congress and Muslim League leaders, India was divided into Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan states. After Partition on communal lines states of Punjab and Bengal were also split into two involving exchange of Muslim and non-Muslim populations at the cost of huge loss of life and property. The Sikhs were deprived of about two hundred religious places. A mention of this finds place in the Constituent Assembly proceedings of 23 November 1948 thus :—

"We are aware of the unfortunate happenings involving Sikhs during and after Partition...

Before Partition Sikhs were offered to elect the formation of a Sikh State in between India and Pakistan. To give this idea a practical shape, the Secretary of State for India had suggested to Baldev Singh, the Sikh representative, to stay behind in London while Nehru and Jinnah were to return to India. His words were :—

"If he stays behind arrangements might be made to enable the Sikhs to have political feet, of their own, on which they may walk into the current world history.

Baldev Singh mentioned this to Nehru who persuaded him to say that Sikhs would come to Settlement in this regard with the Congress. Even Muslim League did want the Sikhs to opt for a separate Sikh state and offered a separate Sikh State federated to Pakistan. But in view of the assurances given by the Congress, as mentioned earlier, the Sikh leaders opted to put their lot with the Congress. During one of the meetings for exchange of views, Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League leader

had warned Sikhs 'is no unmistakable words thus :]

"You have seen Hindus as your co-slaves, but now when they will be masters and you their slaves, you will realise their true nature.

Opposing the bill to grant Independence to India, introduced in the House of Commons, Sir Winston Churchill had called congressmen as rascals, rogues and free-booters. One wonders how far these words have proved prophetic.

After Partition on communal lines Muslims should have no status in Hindu India.

To study the back-ground of truth about the remarks of the Muslim League leader it would be necessary to search the historical records of sixteenth century whereby the current Sikh thought had developed about their separate identity. Mughal rule had followed the Pathan dynasties when Hindus were their sub-servient subjects (andhi rayyat gian vihuni bhae bhare murdar) : The subjects are blind without wisdom and they satisfy the official's fire of greed with carrion (bribe). Even the high class Brahmins, while being subjects of the Muslim rulers, wanted to have their hegemony over other Indian castes as described by Guru Nanak :— (mathe tikea ter dhoti kakhaaee, hath chhuri jagat kasaee: neel bestr paihar hovai parvaan, malechh dhan le poojehn puraan) : On man's brow is the sacrificial mark and on his waist the ochre coloured loin-cloth. In his hand is the knife. He is the world's butcher. Wearing blue clothes, he becomes acceptable in the eyes of Muslims. Taking bread from the Muslims he worships Puranas.

Guru Nanak wanted to abolish the caste system which the Brahmins did not like. They never reconciled to the Sangat and Pangat conception preached by the Gurus. They considered this against their Shastric tradition. Seeing the popularity of Guru Nanak's philosophy of Sangat and Pangat, the Brahmins

started back-biting against the Guru's household in the darbar of Emperor Akbar. Guru Amar Das deputed Bhai Jetha to explain the Guru's exposition of philosophy of the Sikh Scriptures by which the Emperor was greatly impressed and dismissed the complaint of Brahmins.

Thus began the anti-Sikh-attitude of the Brahmins, which has persisted for the last four hundred years. The Brahmanic Hindu ticade against the Sikhs and Khalsa Panth is highlighted by the under mentioned acts of the Hindus :—

i) On Goenda Khatri's suggestion Guru Amar Das founded Goendwal township but after Goenda's death his sons were incited to sue the Guru's house-hold for this, but the complaint was dismissed by Jaffar Beg, Governor of Lahore.

ii) Dewan Chandu was instrumental in inciting Emperor Jehangir through Naqshbandi Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi, a muslim bigo , ending in Guru Arjan's martyrdom.

iii) Guru Gobind Singh had to fight his first battle of Bhahgani which was forced on him by Hindu Raja Bhim Chand and his supporters. Pir Budhu Shah, Muslim Pir with seven hundred of his disciples fought on the side of the Guru.

iv) Guru Gobind Singh had to fight a dozen skirmishes during his stay at Anandpur. The Guru's armies were pitted against Mughal forces which were supported by Hindu Hill Rajas.

v) The Hindus took a false oath over a cow's idol made of wheat flour but later betrayed the Guru.

vi) Gangu Brahmin, a domestic servant of Guru's household betrayed the younger Sahibzadas and Mata Guzri to the Nawab of Sirhind.

vii) Dewan Sucha Nand was instrumental for the martyrdom of the two younger Sahibzadas when even the intervention by the Muslim Nawab of Malerkotla could not help. The anti-sikh

activities of two brothers, Dewans Lakhpat and Jaspat are widely known to need any elaboration.

All this reflects the attitude of Hindus towards the Sikhs during Muslim rule. In spite of this behaviour of the Sikhs towards Hindus is evident from :

- i) Guru Tegh Bahadur's crusade for the protection of sacred thread and fore-head mark of the Hindus.
- ii) Rescue of a Brahmin damsel from the clutches of a Muslim marauder.
- iii) Sardar Jassa Singh rescued thousands of Marhatta young boys and girls from the Abadli's hordes and arranged escorts to their respective homes.
- iv) A resolution was passed at the Akal Takht to rescue the Brahmin girl and Kasur was invaded to force the Nawab to release her.
- v) During the Sikh Raj, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's official policy towards Hindus is reflected in the following :-
 - a) Dogra Dhian Singh, Pandit Dina Nath, Dewan Sawan Mal and Mool Raj were appointed to the highest appointments in the raj such as Prime Minister, ministers, governor and high military commanders.
 - b) Funds were earmarked for offerings of gold and other gifts for Hindu temples. In contrast to this the role played by Hindu Councillors such as Raja Teja Singh and General Lal Singh brought about the fall of the Sikh raj after the Maharaja's death. These things speak for themselves.

Happenings during the British Rule and after are not pleasant either -

- i) The British were more diplomatic than Muslims and

did not make Christianity a religion of the state though they fully exploited the feuds between the followers of various denominations. Mirza Qadian proclaimed himself to be a prophet. Organisations of Brahmo Samaj, Dev Samaj and Radha Swami cults were a direct affront to the fabric of Sikh society. Swami Daya Nand revived the old vedic dharma in the shape of Arya Samaj and urged Punjabi Hindus to disown their mother-tongue Punjabi, which was the script of the Sikh Scriptures, while Sanskrit was the recognised vedic script. Punjabi Hindus were alienated from the inspiring Japji and Sukhamani hymns in easily understandable Punjabi language, Hindu females who were more prone to Sikh scriptures were allured towards the vedic lore discarding hymns of Sikh dharma. This drove a wedge between Hindus and Sikhs and the seeds of dissension thus have borne their fruit in later years, Mr. D. Patry, Assistant Director of C. I. D. in British India (1900-1911) in his report dated 11 August 1911 writes thus :

"Hinduism has always been hostile to Sikhism whose Gurus powerfully and successfully attacked the Hindu principle of caste, which is the foundation on which the whole fabric of Brahminism has been reared. The activities of Hindus have, therefore, been constantly directed to the undermining of Sikhism both by preventing the children of Sikh Fathers from taking the pahul & by seducing professed Sikhs from their allegiance to their faith. Hinduism has strangled Buddhism, once a formidable rival of it and it has already made serious inroads into domain of Sikhism."

ii) The British always appreciated the merit where it existed and encouraged recruitment of Sikhs in the army for their valour and faithfulness. They enforced rigid compliance of the Sikh way of life to maintain the martial

traditions of the community. In spite of small numbers of 1.5 percent of the population Sikhs were given 30 percent share in British Indian Armed Force and were accepted as third community in India after Hindus and Muslims. As mentioned earlier, the British were inclined to form a separate Sikh state at the time of partition into Hindu India and Muslim India, as Pakistan. But the fate of this suggestion was cleverly sabotaged by Nehru's cunning. The reason for non-formation of Sikh State at the time of partition were the solemn assurances given by the congress leaders. Even otherwise, basically the Sikhs are patriotic and self-sacrificing by nature as is more than evident from the past historical events. To forget and forgive had been a part of their natures and forms part of their daily prayer. It is specially so in forgetting and forgiving the excesses by the Hindus in the past. It would suffice to quote one illustration here :

In 1936, untouchables under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar, numbering nine crores, were convinced that their untouchability according to Hindu faith could not be effaced in the present life. In a Gurmat Parchar Conference, they had decided to embrace Sikh faith. The educated amongst them were selected for training in the Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar. Dr. Ambedkar had sought (i) establishment of a college in Bombay and (ii) a printing press for publishing their newspaper "Janta". For these two projects land had been acquired in Matunga and Dadar colonies in Bombay. Master Tara Singh wanted concurrences of Hindu leaders in this and sent Master Sujan Singh for obtaining Mahatma Gandhi's approval. Prior approval of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Shri Jugal Kishore Birla had already been obtained and the latter had even donated Rs. 25,000 for this auspicious purpose. Mahatma Gandhi's concurrence was taken for granted as he had made it clear that he does not speak as a Hindu but as an Indian

Nationalist, and for him all Indians, whether Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs, are equal. When Master Sujan Singh met Mahatma Gandhi, the details of his conversation with the latter are enlightening as given below :-

Master : Mahatmaji. I have come to take your concurrence in the untouchable classes embracing Sikh faith.

Mahatmaji : Are the Sikhs Hindus ?

Master : No

Mahatmaji : If the untouchables have to disown Hinduism, why should they not embrace Islam instead of becoming Sikhs,

Master : Mahatmaji, you are Indian Nationalist, Why should you distinguish between a Sikh and a Muslim ? Even after embracing Sikhism they will still remain in Indias.

Mahatmaji : How can that be possible ? By embracing Sikhism they will no more remain Hindus

On hearing this Master Sujan Singh was convinced that Mahatma's own assertion about being an Indian Nationalist was just a deception and he departed after telling him that "If you find any difference between Hindu and Sikh, it shall be sheer Hypocrisy to call yourself as an Indian Nationalist."

On the other hand according to the promise made, a press was installed on Dadar plotard it had started publishing 'Janta' and construction of Guru Nanak College building had also commenced on the plot acquired in Matunga Colony, under supervision of S. Narain Singh, Every other day Dr. Ambedkar would visit the construction site and discuss matters concerning the college and Sikhism. By the end of May 1937, two storeys of the college building had been completed and roof of the third storey was about to be laid when Jathedar Teja Singh, President, Nankana Sahib Committee Principal Kashmira Singh

on college staff and S. Isher Singh Majhail had arrived in Bombay to enquire from Dr. Ambedkar when he and his followers were likely to embrace Sikhism.

On the contrary Mahatma Gandhi was exerting pressure through Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya member of Governor general's cabinet, for government to announce special concessions and privileges for the untouchables and in pursuance thereof he had undertaken a fast upto death. On twenty first day of the fast, the government announced the special privileges for the untouchables. in the meantime a large number of untouchables-leaders & followers had declined to join Dr. Ambedkar in embracing Sikh faith and preferred to remain as Hindu untouchables. Thus the promises made by Dr. Ambedkar with the Sikhs were never fulfilled. Details of this sordid episode were given by Dr. Ambedkar to a delegation of Sikhs who had gone to meet him in Bombay. Here it shall be worth questioning the wisdom of Master Tara Singh to insist on getting concurrence of Mahatma Gandhi and others in the matter of conversion of Hindu untouchables into Sikhism. The joining of Sikh fold by leaders like Dr. Ambedkar was sure to eclipse the stature of Master Tara Singh as a leader of the Sikhs.

All this had happened in 1937 but the Sikh community have proverbially a short memory and forgot all the excesses of Hindus by the time of partition of the country in 1947 and again reposed confidence in the congress dominated by bigoted Hindus and doomed the future of the Sikh Community to remain as their appendage. Even the prophetic remarks of Mr. Jinnah and epithets of Mr. Churchill attributed to the congressmen, as mentioned earlier, were not paid heed to. The part played by S. Baldev Singh as representative of Sikhs during transfer

of power negotiations is not flattering to the talent of the Sikh leadership, as evidenced from some excerpts quoted from Leonard Mosley's book as under :—

“Baldev Singh did not seem aware that he would shortly be the meat in the sandwich that was being cut”. (page 144). “It might have seemed likely that any fars●eing Sikh, realizing the situation which would probably result from partition, would have cut his throat or gone to war rather than accept it. But then, as an English man later on bitterly remarked, “Is there any such thing as a farseeing Sikh ?” (Page-146/47). The Sikhs were massacred in West Puujab and are being smothered by the Hindus and Congress generally, in Punjab and India as ptophesied in the book on Page-236. On top of all this the community was stabbed in the back by a co-reli-gionist son of . minstrel of holy hymns, acting as a confidant of Master Tara Singh during his internment in 1947, by disclosing details of Mr. Jinnah's negotiation with the latter to Mr Nehru thus earning for himself ambassadorial and guber-natorlal appointments.

The pre-meditated and planned dispersal of the Sikh population uprooted from Pakistan to the far-flung states of India was the congress strategy to weaken the Sikh Community. The very next blow delivered against the Sikhs immediately after partition in 1947 was the issue of Black Government circular addressed to all district authorities and government departments, labelling Sikhs up rooted from Pakistan as ‘Criminal Tribe’. with instructions to keep under w tch those in services. As a result of this s abby treatment a number of sikh young-men were taken into custody and later released on bail.

Immediately after independence, a constituent assembly was constituted on which S. Hukam Singh and S. Bhupinder Singh Mann were nominated as representatives of the Sikhs. After prolonged discussions it was decided that, on democratic principles, there would be a sufferage on the basis of one

person one vote—82 percent of India's population were Hindus. Out of 18 percent minorities, Sikhs were a mere 1.8 percent. By the acceptance of common electorate, it was intended to establish Hindu Raj but to pacify the minorities like Muslims, Christians, Sikhs etc, India was declared to be a Secular State. How does this declaration reconcile the acceptance of two-nation theory by the Congress? With 82 percent Hindu majority and 18 percent minorities with differing thoughts, cultures, traditions and way of life, the meaning of Secularism cannot be understood.

The 50 member advisory committee of the constituent assembly was appointed on 27 January 1948 and its first report dated 8 August 1948 put forward the following recommendations :—

- 1) Elections shall be on Common Electorates.
- 2) There would be no reservations in the cabinet but members of minorities shall be represented through convention.
- 3) Claims of minorities in services shall be kept in view. Sardar Patel as Chairman of the advisory committee gave an assurance that the minorities need not be perturbed over contents of para 4 regarding common electorates as provision is being made for reservation of seats.

Regarding reservation of seats Mr. Jeyaraj said to the Muslim members that when the country has been partitioned on communal lines, the question of reservation for Muslims should be thrown over-board. He did not like any mention of minorities. Shri Mahavir Tyagi's remarks also run in the same vein and strain viz :

- 1) Why should there be a mention of separate electorate.
- 2) The only option for minorities is to win over the confidence of the majority through co-operation
- 3) Hindus do not believe in extermination of minorities

but are desirous of their conversion in to the Hindu fold.

Sardar Patel clarified it as under :—

- 1) When Pakistan was formed it was understood the other Indians consist of one nation as Hindus whose population is over 80 percent.
- 2) The mischief of separate electorate shall never be accepted.

This sealed the fate of minorities if there were still any doubts lingering.

The Sikh members of the Constituent Assembly readily understood that inspite of solemn assurances given to the Sikhs before partition, there is no use in reminding them of these and consequently declared that "The Sikhs do not accept the Constitution, They reject this constitution Act. and refused to append their signature to the original Constitution document 82 pe cent of Hindu majority never cared for the insignificant minority of 1.8 percent, which felt quite helpless betrayed and disillusooned.

It was, however, passed by the Constituent Assembly that 9 crore untouchables, who were economically backward should be given special privileges and they should be allowed to join the mainstream of the national life. It was said that basically the untouchables are Hindus. By calling the untouchables as Hindus, the special Privileges are provided to further boost the Hindu interests and it is sheer Mackery to name such a government as Secular.

This delivered a serious blow to the minorities like Muslims and Sikhs. Those untouchables who had embraced Islam and Sikhism rejoined the Hindu fold to become eligibile to the special privileges provided for the Hindu untouchables. Lakhs of untouchables who had earlier emrbraced Sikhism in Uttar pradesh, returned to the Hindu fold, thus highlighting the deadly blow of the so called Secular government against the Sikhs.

In the Indian Constitution, minorities like Muslims and Christians have the right to preserve their identity through separate personal law but the provisions of Hindu Code are applicable to the Sikhs in common with Buddhists and Jainis as per Article 26 of the Constitution. Thus the very separate identity of Sikh is obliterated inspite of provisions of Article 29 regarding preservation of special culture language and script of population residing any where in India. The separate identity of Sikhs recognised for centuries by the successive Pathan, Mughal and British regimes has been obliterated by the Hindu Secular regime by one stroke of pen. "The Sikh scripture ordains that, "I am neither Hindu nor Musalman" but the indian constitution denies this separate identity of the Sikhs and no challenge is accepted in this regard by the Secular Government of Indian Republic.

When in 1954 Master Tara Singh reminded Mr. Nehru of the solemn assurances given to the Sikhs before 1947, his stock reply was that "Now circumstances have changed." is this not height of treachery and betrayal? This has been superimposed by the remarks of the Home Minister Katju that in the best interests of the Sikhs, they should abandon the claim of separate identity and join the main stream of Hindu Democracy. Nirad Chaudhuri in his book—The Island of Circle writes. Hindus are masters and ruler of India. They have regained political power after many centuries and are fully aware of it—perhaps over aware As the current jargon describes all the non-Hindus, they are only minorities".

It is perhaps such things that prompted S. Kapur Singh to say that the Sikhs have no place in the independent India. Will the Sikhs acquiesce to such humiliated subservience and discard their separate identity leading to their extinction?

Then came the question of linguistic organisation of the states. Hindus had already planned against such an eventuality. They knew that mother tongue of Sikhs is Punjabi and their scriptures are in Gurmukhi script, If a Punjabi speaking

state is formed it would provide impetus to develop Punjabi in Gurmukhi script. To obviate the formation of a separate Punjabi-speaking state all Punjabi-speaking Hindus were required to record Hindi as their mother-tongue during 1961 census, though they spoke Punjabi at home and in other daily activities.

NOTE : In July 1983, two learned Hindus settled in foreign lands, (Dr. K. T. Lalvani, President Indian merchants Association, U. K and Mr. S. Raghunath Iyengar, President Indian Merchants Association, Nigeria) came to India to ascertain the cause of gulf between Hindus and Sikh of Punjab and published a pamphlet entitled, "Independent study of Hindu-Sikh conflict in Punjab", in which it is recorded :—

' We did find much difficulty in tracing the root of this conflict way back to over 30 years ago, at a time, when perhaps not even Hindi daily paper existed in the state when suddenly a vast majority of Punjabi Hindus, influenced by Arya Samaj and local R.S.S. falsely claimed to be Hindi speaking and Hindus alienated themselves from the Sikhs by adopting a new Hindi language which the majority then had little knowledge, if any. This unfortunate development saw the beginning of friction between the two communities". Under these unfortunate circumstances had commenced the Hindu-Sikh conflict and Dr. G. P. Mansukhani told us further in this regard that, "If you were to trace that background of a reporter or an editor behind a particular anti-Sikh report, you would probably find him to be an Arya Samajists or a member of Punjab-Haryana R. S. S." It is further stated in the pamphlet that "I wonder how many Arya Samajist in the garb of Hinduism have helped influence the Hindu opinion through their controlled media, and also affect the government's judgement and its decisions through the positions they may hold in the ruling party and senior posts they hold in the Civil Service ".

As directed, all Hindus inhabiting Punjab reorganisation,

which included present Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, recorded Hindi as their mother tongue. This left only Sikhs to own Punjabi as a separate language as per VIII Schedule of the Constitution. But on account of small strength of the Sikh Community, it was not considered feasible to form a separate viable state, hence Punjab was declared as a Bi-lingual state. This compelled the Sikhs to launch an agitation for the formation of a separate Punjabi speaking state. Thousands of Sikhs caused arrest and many lives were lost. Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister in an interview with correspondent of Times London said on 2 October 1962 that he would rather risk a Civil War than to concede the demand for a separate Punjabi-speaking State.

To undermine the interest of the Sikh Community Mr. Nehru employed other dubious means. When a delegation went to represent the Sikh grievances, he allured the members of the delegation, Hukam Singh was made Deputy speaker of Lok Sabha, Ujjal Singh was made Governor of Madras. Bhai Jodh Singh's son was elevated from P.C.S. to I.A.S. cadre. Hukam Singh took oath of allegiance to the same Constitution he had refused to sign as representative of the Sikhs. He later became Speaker and retired as Governor of Rajasthan.

There was no change in policy during the brief stewardship under Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. The Lok Sabha had appointed a Parliamentary Sub-Committee to go into the question of Punjabi-speaking state under S. Hukam Singh as its president. In this regard, Mrs. Indira Gandhi writes in her book, "MY TRUTH" at page 17 thus :—

"Unfortunately Mr. Shastri had made S. Hukam Singh the Speaker of the Lower House, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Punjabi Suba, although he was very biased in favour of Punjabi Suba. I went to Mr. Chavan and said I had heard that S. Hukam Singh was going to give a report in favour of Punjabi Suba and that he should be stopped.....

Once the Prime Minister's appointee had declared himself in favour of Punjabi Suba, how could we get out of it.....I was very bothered and I went round seeing every body. Of course once the report came, it was too late to change it"

Mr. Shastri, Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda did not succeed in persuading S. Hukam Singh not to recommend formation of Punjabi-speaking state. To forestall such an eventuality, before the Parliamentary Sub-Committee report was signed on 15 March 1966, the Congress, on 9 March 1966, voted for an ambiguous resolution deciding on the new boundaries of Punjabi-Speaking State. How much the government was eager to get a report against formation of a Punjabi-speaking state becomes clear in the words of Mrs. Gandhi herself on page 117 of her book, "My Truth", which are :—

"The Congress found himself in a dilemma, to concede the Akali demand would mean abandoning a position which it was firmly committed and letting down the Hindu supporters in Punjabi Suba. The merits were no consideration, as the policy of the Congress, as enunciated in 1949 by Jawahar Lal, Vallabhbhai Pattabhi Sita-ramayya had been not to concede reorganisation of North India "whatever the merit of such a proposal might be—J.V.P. report 1-4-1945".

In spite of all antagonism, the Congress was left with no other alternative than to concede the formation of the Punjabi-speaking state and a resolution to this effect had to be passed on 9 March 1966, to the consternation of the Punjabi Hindus, whom the then Home Minister, Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, who was a Punjabi Hindu himself, consoled with an assurance that he would organise the Punjabi-speaking state in such a way that the Sikhs shall regret its formation for all time to come.

As the Punjabi Hindus had already declared Hindu as their mother-tongue in 1961 census, it would be made the basis for delimiting the boundaries of the new state. In a conspiracy between the Commission headed by Justice Shah, Home Ministry and Mrs. Gandhi, Tehsil was made the basis instead of village for marking Punjabi-speaking areas. Thus hundreds of Punjabi speaking villages were made over to Haryana, Himachal Pradesh as Hindi speaking states. Six districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundhar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Ferozepur along with PEPSU states formed the Punjabi-speaking State. In a clever move Chandigarh was made a Union Territory. Thus Hissar, Karnal, Ambala, Sirsa, Rohtak and hill regions of Mandi, Kangra, Simla, Solan and Chandigarh in which lakhs of Sikhs uprooted from Pakistan had settled down after Partition were excluded from the Punjabi-speaking state, forcing Hindi on them as their mother-tongue. In these areas Punjabi was not granted even second language status. The height of antagonism becomes more pronounced when in Haryana, Tamil, a South-Indian language was given second language status though not a single citizen spoke it. Thus 11 lakh Sikhs were deprived of speaking, writing and learning Punjabi. Such a grievous blow had not been delivered on Sikhism by any previous alien governments as has been done by the Secular Congress Government of India.

This brought about a sense of anguish and disillusionment and the Sikhs were forced to adopt agitational confrontation with government for their marked anti-Sikh policies. A faithful Congress Sikh namely S. Darshan Singh Pheruman, undertook a fast upto death on this issue, and after 74 days died on 27 October 68. The government would still not see the reason and so many other Sikh satyagrahis were tortured whilst in detention.

This was still further confirmed by S. Hukam Singh, ex-speaker Lok Sabha and former governor of Rajasthan; according to which the Congress had planned Genocide of the Sikhs in the event of another war with Pakistan upto Ambala to exterminate bulk of the Sikh population and then halted. Does such a divulgence by such a responsible source leave any doubt about malafide of the Congress government/party regarding the Sikhs? Pakistan has not obliged with an attack and the plan has been executed through Army Action in Golden Temple, Amritsar, subsequent repressive rule all over Punjab and wide scale arson, loot and killings of the Sikhs enacted as an aftermath of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination witnessed in Congress (I) ruled states and Delhi.

It is natural that every new below reminds one of the old injuries which give birth to a sense of revolt, and cause eruption like a volcano. The separate identity of the Sikh Community recognised by the earlier Pathan, Mughal and British regimes has been obliterated by reckoning them as a Hindu sect like Buddhists and Jainis. It is such a serious matter which has forced the Sikhs to declare that they are NOT Hindus, on which they have been condemned as Separatists. Akali Dal has declared time and again that Sikhs are Indians but the Congress and Hindus, instead of admitting their own mistakes, have undertaken to chastise the Sikhs, so that they do not claim their privileges as a minority community. The Congress has easily forgotten that if Sikhs were a sect of Hindus, how could the untouchables embracing Sikh faith were deprived of their concessions and compelled to return to Hindu fold.

If the Sikhs were Hindus, why was 30 percent share of Sikhs in Armed Forces reduced to 12 percent and in 1974 it was decided to bring it down to 1.8 percent according to population of Sikhs. It sounds so incongruous that Sikhs are not given the Minority status because they are considered as a sect

of Hindus but for recruitment in Army they considered Sikhs with 1.8 percent of India's population Hindu government, Hindu Community, Congress leaders and left-handed deal of Shah Commission forced the Akali Dal to adopt the following resolution in its meeting on 20 July 1966 thus :-

"After having carefully viewed the findings, reports and judgements of judicial and quasi-judicial judgements and forums that have dealt with matters and cases involving important Sikh interests the Akali Dal comes to the conclusion that the entire judicial machinery and the judicial process of the independent India, under influence of certain sections of political Hindus, is prejudicial and has been perverted against the Sikh people in India in relation to their just and legal rights".

It has been a tragedy that Punjab is inhabited by the Sikhs otherwise Punjabi - speaking state would have been formed along with other linguistic states. When it had to be formed no effort was spared to exclude maximum Punjabi-speaking areas from it. Hindi adopted as a national language by majority of a single vote, and even that of a Sikh citizen, been forced on the Punjabi-speaking people. Lahore having gone to Pakistan and Simla having been given to Himachal Pradesh, Chandigarh has also been taken away from the Punjab. It is a perversity of justice to say that Chandigarh could revert to Punjab only in return of Abohar and Fazilka, which are Punjabi-speaking areas in no way contiguous but 35 miles away from Haryana.

Ignoring the internationally recognised reparian principle, greater portion of waters of Punjab rivers-Ravi and Beas have been apportioned to Haryana and Rajasthan at the detriment of Punjab farmers. Same is the case in distribution of hydro-electric power generated for the Punjab. To perpetuate the injustice control of head-works of river waters and power generation has been assumed by the Central government though power and irrigation are both state subjects as in other states. Cotton produced in Abohar-Fazilka region of Punjab is fed to

textile industry of Abohar and (Gujrat) instead of establishing textile industry in the Punjab, which would go against the vested interests of multi-millionaire mill owners who are Hindus. Other Sikh demands, if conceded do not go against the interests of any other community or contravene any constitutional provisions. These demands are :-

- i) Granting 'Holy City' status to Amritsar like Kurukshetra Haridwar, Varanasi.
- ii) S.G.P.C. control over historical Gurudwaras anywhere in India.
- iii) Installation of a powerful A.I.R. transmitter for broadcasting Gurbani Kirtan in Golden Temple. The cost will be exclusively borne by S.G.P.C.
- iv) Sikhs to be recognised as a separate Community like Muslims and Christians.
- v) Removal of restriction of wearing of Kirpan by the Sikhs. It is authorised in the constitution and even size of blade is specified in Defence Service Regulations.

In view of the solemn assurances given by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru before and immediately after Partition and recorded in the congress party resolutions, Co-stituent Assembly proceedings and published in press of the time, these demands were formulated in Akali Dal resolution passed on 16/17 October 1973, in which there is nothing against the Constitution or affecting unity or integrity of the country. India as a Secular Democratic Socialist state should have no objection to concede these demands which include :-

- i) All key industries be brought under public sector.
- ii) All Industrial units with assets beyonds rupees one crore to be brought under public sector.

- iii) Immediate nationalisation of basic consumer industries to stabilise prices of consumer goods for the benefit of poor consumers and avoid exploitation by industrialists and middlemen.

If India is to be union of states as a federation in real sense the political demands of the Akalis do not contravene the conception of union or federation as per dictionary meanings of the words and not as interpreted by Congress.

Political part of the resolution states :

"In this 'New Punjab' and in the other states the Centre's interference should be restricted to Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency and General Communications ; all other Departments would be in the jurisdiction of Punjab (and other states which would be fully entitled to frame their own laws on the subjects for administration resolution describes the Political Goals thus :-

The Political Goal of Panth, without doubt is enshrined in the Commandments of the Tenth Lord, in the pages of Sikh History and in the very heart of the Khalsa Panth, the ultimate objective of which is the preeminence of the Khalsa.

The fundamental policy of the Siromani Akali Dal is to seek the realization of the birth right of the Khalsa through creation of Congenial environments and a political set-up", to which Pandit Nehru had committed himself in his assurance, published in Statesman, Calcutta on 7th July 1946 thus :

"I see nothing wrong and a set-up in the North wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom".

Akali Dal has demanded nothing that affects the unity or integrity of the country to deserve the treatment meted out to the Sikh Community by the Congress since 1946 culminating in the Army Action in Golden Temple Amritsar followed by an unprecedented reign of repression in the Punjab with rigours of National Security Act and the aftermath of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's

assassination involving loot, arson and mass killings of Sikhs in Congress (I) ruled states and Delhi endanger the future of the entire Sikh Community inhabiting India. The slogan of country being above religion is mischievous. If it were true why did millions of Hindus and Sikhs migrate from Pakistan to India at the time of Partition.

Sikhs are as good citizens of free India as members of any other community. The Sikh Community has waited long enough to get justice at the hands of Secularism. This government has tried all sorts of disruptive methods to weaken the Sikh Community. They encouraged individuals and splinter groups amongst the Sikhs like Santokh Singh, Master Akali Dal, Haryana Akali Dal, Danawalia Akali Dal, Damdami Taksal headed by Sant Bhindrawale and his Khalsa Dal, which was the creation of the Punjab government Sant Bhindrawala and his Khalsa Dal which was quick enough to see through the dirty game being played, which developed into his hatred for the government. The burning of Sikh scriptures in Chandokalan brought Sikh Students' Federation to join with Khalsa Dal of Sant Bhindrawale, which turned into major and open confrontation.

Nirankaris acted as Government agents and enacted the massacre on Baisakhi day in 1973. It would be worth while to quote narration of a Hindu resident of Ferozepore named Satpal Baghi, published in the Indian Express as reproduced below :-

"The genesis of the real trouble between Nirankaris and Akalis goes back to the years when Mrs. Indira Gandhi headed the Union Government. She wanted to weaken the Shiromani Akali Dal, but found that Akalis could not be brought to heel. She thought of an elaborate plan to strengthen the Nirankari sect not only in Punjab but throughout the country and abroad also. Official patronage was extended to the Nirankaris much to the chagrin of Akalis, who have always considered the Nirankaris as heretics.

In pursuit of this policy of DIVIDE - AND - RULE, Mrs.

Gandhi personally gave clearance for a diplomatic passport to be issued to the Indian High Commissioners and Ambassadors abroad were instructed to show him respect and regard. This was meant to help the sect to improve its image and increase its following abroad.

During Mrs. Gandhi's regime, the Nirankaris were known to be receiving financial help from secret government funds not open to audit scrutiny by Parliament.

During the Emergency, the recalcitrant attitude of the Akalis further annoyed Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Sanjay Gandhi. Efforts for building a parallel organisation among the Sikhs of Punjab as counter-blast to the Akalis were intensified. At the instance of Mrs. Gandhi, the Congress regime in Punjab led by Giani Zail Singh, began giving greater official patronage to the Nirankaris' sect Mr. H. S. Chhina, a staunch Nirankari was appointed Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government in 1976.

As a result of open official patronage and support this sect got a considerable boost within the administrative set up of the Punjab government. Mr. Chhina appointed Mr. Niranjan Singh as D. C. of Gurdaspur. Mr. Niranjan Singh tried his best to enlarge the field of operations of the Nirankaris.....

The outcome of the government policy brought about the massacre of 13 Sikhs on Baisakhi day of 1978 by the Nirankaris at Amritsar. The trial of such a heinous crime by Nirankari Baba and his followers was entrusted to a Karnol (Harana) judge, who acquitted them all. The government did not care to file appeal against the verdict. The perpetrators of the crime were safely evacuated from Amritsar to Delhi through official agency.

All this was done through official encouragement to disgrace the Sikh Community and Akali Dal. All terrorist activities were all tributed to Akali Dal Court cases were instituted against Amrik Singh of Sikh Students Federation and Baba Thara Singh who were released by the court. It was to cover up the break down of Law and Order machinery in Punjab that blame for all

terrorist was put on the Sikhs on mere presumptions. Every now and then a scare is created by raising issues like 'Khalistan' and 'Anandpur Resolution' & to confuse the realities. Such outbursts are exploited by the Congress as well as Hindu leadership, and through the controlled media the entire national and international community are kept in dark about the realities of the situation.

It would be pertinent to ask why the Congress government fight shy of agreeing to convince a high powered Judicial Commission, with impartial national and international observers in attendance, to enquire into happenings in the Punjab and elsewhere involving the matters pertaining to the Sikh Community. The post-partition Congress, still professing the non-violence as its creed, is guilty of so many political murders and deaths of which there is a long list. It is nothing but the irony of fate that for all sins of commission and omission of the post-partition Congress government the Sikh Community is being blamed and humiliated.

Concise demands of the Sikhs are :—

- (i) Chandigarh to be given to Punjab without touching Abohar and Fazilka, Centre can provide funds for a new capital as it did for a Congress (I) ruled state in the North eastern region. Failing this let the cost of New Haryana Capital be shared equally by the Centre, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab.
- ii) Return of Punjabi-speaking areas mischievously included in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, village being taken as the basis & contiguity.
- iii) River water dispute be referred to the Supreme Court for adjudication on riparian principle. Basic dispute is between the Central Government and the Punjab state. Other states members of political parties like Congress (I) or opposition have no locus standi in the matter. Constitution of a tribunal or a commission is

only part of evasive tactics and is not acceptable.

- iv) Recognise Sikhs as a separate minority community in the light of safeguards provided in Article 29 of the Constitution and amend Article 25 which shows Sikhs as a sect of Hindus, which it is not like Buddhists and Jainis.
- v) Grant Holy City status to Amritsar like Kurukshetra, Haridwar and Varanasi.
- vi) Instal. A I.R. Transmitter in Harimandir at the cost of Sikh Community. Relay broadcast of Kirtan from Jullundur is not satisfactory thus unacceptable.
- vii) Remove restriction on wearing of Kirpan as authorised in the Consitution and of blade size authorised in Defence Service Regulations.
- viii) Authorise SGPC to enact All-India Curdwara code to ensure uniformity in religious practices.
- ix) There should be personal Law for all Indians, if it is not so Sikhs should be allowed to have their own personal law like Muslims and Christians, quite different from Hindu code which is made applicable to them.
- x) Punjabi in Gurmukhi script should be given second language status in states neighbouring Punjab.

The Central Government has to decide once and for all to sort out the Punjab/Sikh problem in all sincerity to the good of the country and the nation as a whole and escape the responsibility of execution of the plan of Genocide of Sikhs as divulged by Hukam Singh and evidenced in happenings Since June 1984.

ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਬੋਲੋ

ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਲਿਖੋ

ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਪੜ੍ਹੋ

ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਯਾਦ ਰਖੋ :

ਸੁੰਦਰ ਅਤੇ ਨਵੇਂ ਡਿਜ਼ਾਇਨਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਛਪਾਈ ਲਈ

ਮਾਸਟਰ ਪ੍ਰਿੰਟਰਜ਼

ਸ਼ੇਰਾਂ ਵਾਲਾ ਗੇਟ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ।